592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
511

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can remember makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for *chimbaung*, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
392 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limoria acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

511 324 412 303

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmwày*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

303 512

326 412 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 418 511 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants, princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits, all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners. Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

326 412 531 511 [353]

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese
court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted
• 511 and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

•511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1948 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

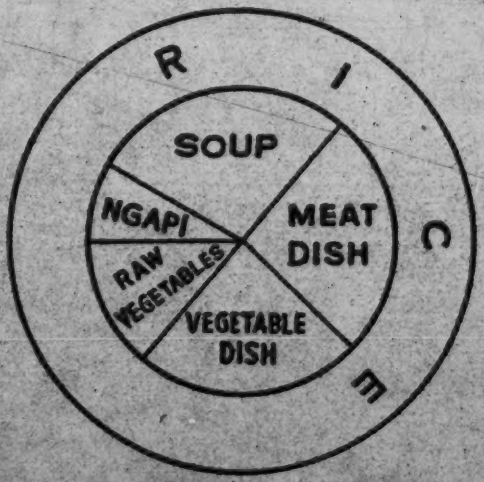
previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence. They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlus*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence.

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically:



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
• 511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!" 525

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years. 585 511

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive. 581 562 428

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our 584

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

[452] [674]

243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d. and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

243 511 454

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral.

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks—perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 API Burma (Europeans Indians) API
Burmese AP4

Be Ba 243 442 563 175.

establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

Be Ba 243 439 563 435

Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

Be Ba 241 452 563 511

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Indians)AP1
Burmese AP4

occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work.

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below.

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
	15

(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks.

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
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563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the
Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their
[262] product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two
groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is
over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their
animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not
very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
● 571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms.

[764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house.there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place."

[511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots,

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quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 512
9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when 805
the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN 513
CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so.

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In 513
warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and [515]
damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. 782
Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are 828
generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that [775]
the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently.

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp. 511 ●
The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee 722
camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt 342
to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period.

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee 511
camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 722
361
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511 722 361 342 much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415 There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porcelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HNOCN vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

[264] The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

[513]

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 ● 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:-

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life.

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathso and camp.*

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Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathso	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid combs	"	1	0
Slippers, "Al plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheses. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathee	Comp.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9,5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as man's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognized as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than [562] the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard [183] might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The [177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fall into the categories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the comp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in comp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We got fish from the IRS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

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basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1.

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CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish.

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Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1.

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THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, ½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1.

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U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to fill in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds."

Food Items

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Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYE (vegetables eaten with RICE), and (3) trifles.

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as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathee in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathee, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAW-GYI, MATHAPTU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathee even the worker who worked at the IRS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathee were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MCAFI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MCAFI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathmo. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Kyein is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite — but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarised as follows:

Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

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increasingly cognizant.

Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp dict but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The dict is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

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Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

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Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

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The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KAMMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

The standards or levels of culture: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. . . . In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KAMMA concept. 511● 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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represented by the boat and shack dwellers of Rangoon's water-front as well as the beggar class of the villages.

Future Studies: This study has explored a portion of the Burmese culture pattern seen in dynamic situation of one family's case. It has indicated the importance of the family unit in Burmese society and expressed qualitatively two levels or standards of living. A study of a functioning community to define the interworkings of the family group and other social groups is being carried out at the present time by the Burma Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Rangoon. The hypothesis developed in this paper will be further explored and new concepts of Burmese culture and society developed in the village project.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE
(*see* p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-nge*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

154. AN "ORIGINAL"

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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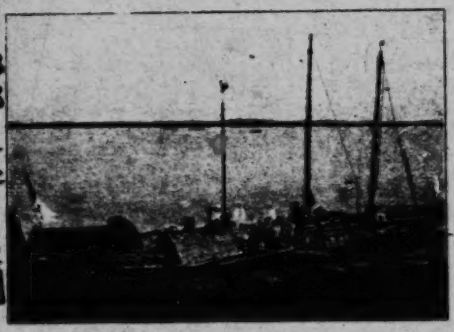

385. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

ot every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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386. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.